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COMMENTS.

The History of the Indian Nationalist Movement is a stirring record of the struggle of a great, ancient, and mighty people longing for new days and more spacious air. That struggle is not yet over. We emphatically disagree with those who ask us to believe that with the passing of the Reform Act, there has begun for India an era of peace and prosperity. Nor do we agree with the complacent political philosopher who theorises in neat phrases that the Act is a substantial step towards Home Rule. *The Madras Review* will stand for the greatest freedom of thought, expression, and action in all walks of life-social, political, intellectual, and religious. It will be an impartial critic of men and matters. *Suaviter in modo fortiter in re.* It will strive for a liberated, contented India free from the demoralising influence of the baser elements in the ideals of the West. While it will advocate the assimilation of all that is best in other countries, it will lay great emphasis on the superstructure of Indian national life being raised, not on the shifting sands of borrowed ideas, but on the firm rock of her native genius and character and on the fundamentals of true religion.

* * *

As the problems of Indian politics become more complex and complicated, the sense of the loss sustained by the country in the death of Bal Gangadhar Tilak becomes more acute. For Mr. Tilak was believed to be a great restraining influence in Maharashtra towards the closing months of his remarkable career. A man of great intellectual power and high moral purity, he exemplified in his own life the noblest and loftiest conception of patriotism and self-sacrifice. Never was a life so greatly misunderstood and so little misdirected ; never was a life so maliciously attacked but so meritoriously justified.

In the words of the poet, Mr. Tilak was a man

> " Who never sold the truth to serve the hour,
> Nor paltere'd with Eternal God for power ;
> Whose life was work, whose language rife
> With rugged maxims hewn from life."

* * *

The Report of the Congress Sub-Committee on Draft Instructions for Congress organisations has been published. In view of its momentous significance, we feel it our duty to examine it and frankly to state our views for the consideration of all patriotic Indians. We shall premise by saying that the word Non-Cooperation places its critics, by implication, at a disadvantage. The average man is more likely to presume that the alternative to Non-Cooperation is Co-operation whereas it is vigorous, persistent and unceasing agitation. We have no bias either for or against the Non-Co-operation Movement. Each man walks by a light that is in himself. If one advocates Non-Co-operation and if another swears by agitation, the mere fact of this difference is not enough to applaud the one and condemn the other. It is the genuineness of a man's feeling, the motive which inspires him and the honesty of his methods that must count in appraising his worth. It is therefore highly inconvenient to impose on the people a method of political propaganda as though it were a religious creed which it is a sacrilege to disobey. Our own opinion is that to reach our political goal *viz* Swaraj, all forms of political work are necessary. Non-Co-operation may be one way but it is not the only way. If Indians were intruders or settlers in a foreign land and if the Government of that land oppressed them, complete non-co-operation may be intelligible. But here they are in their own country and it is their duty to wring out of the unwilling hands of their rulers the liberty that is their brithright. Both agitation and non-co-operation are necessary and the one is inseparable from the

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other. Every leader worth his salt must suggest ways and means of advancing the interests of India. It is our duty to examine them on their own merits without any preconceived bias. We are willing to examine with an open mind, any scheme of political work and if, on its merits, it will be found to yield better results, we shall not hesitate to advocate it.

* * *

First comes the boycott of titles. We take exception to the sweeping statement in the report that title-holders have prized their titles as life itself. Gokhale and Mehta had titles and in our own day, some of the noblest patriots are title-holders, for example Sankaran Nair, S. Srinivasaiyengar, and Ashutosh Chaudri. We do not admire a man the more for his title. Nor shall we admire him the more for his giving it up. Our regard and admiration for Mr. Gandhi was as great before he returned his medals to Government as it is now. The fact is we are indifferent to these titles. The Congress would have maintained its dignity if it had stopped merely with the enunciation of the principle. The other steps contemplated *viz.*, National education, establishment of Arbitration Courts, and encouragement of Swadeshi are all old suggestions transformed into a new gospel under a new name. The Congress of 1906 passed resolutions towards this end. We have absolutely nothing to say against any one of these principles. Only it will require an enormous education and organisation among the people for their success. This does not mean that we should be idle. Our only criticism against Mr. Gandhi is that he has not awakened himself sufficiently early to his task. He was watching the course of political agitation in India from 1915. It is a pity that he kept himself aloof all along and after everything was nearing completion, he comes out with his scheme which, in effect, will destroy all that has been gained during the past 5 years. There would have been a tremendous saving of national energy if he had come into the field earlier. To suggest that the Punjab tragedy awoke him is to do injustice to Mr. Gandhi.

* * *

H. E. the Viceroy desires that public discussions on the Punjab tragedy must be brought to an end. We have no desire to create bad feeling, to promote discord, or to inflame the slumbering embers of controversy if we can help it. But this sentiment can only be reciprocal. We have no duty imposed on us to sit in silence when all kinds of difficulties are fast thickening around us as a mass of clouds gathering on a stormy day. Can we draw a veil over the terrible incidents of last year? How can we if there is no proper response from the Government? The Rowlatt Act has not been repealed. British honor and British justice have not been amply vindicated in the eyes of the world. Is it not a nobler ideal to maintain and uphold justice rather than allow it to be dragged in the mire? Is it not a nobler ideal to restore the waning confidence of millions of His Majesty's subjects in the goal of British policy in this country rather than lose it by adhering to a narrow conception of power and prestige? If Britain shows by her immediate action that she answers the above questions in the affirmative, she can try, to some extent at least, to wash away from our minds the bitter memories of the Punjab episode. Not otherwise can the problem be solved in a manner worthy of the traditions of both countries.

* * *

The growing unity between Hindus and Mussalmans is of happy augury for the future of India. Hindus feel as strongly as the Mussalmans on the partition of the Turkish Empire. Although the Khilafat question is an international question, it gladdens our heart to see the enthusiastic and unwavering support which Hindus are giving their Muslim brethren in this matter. Hindus do not deserve to be called the friends of Mussulmans if they shrink from facing the ordeal of suffering and sacrifice along with the latter at a crisis like this. But a word of warning is necessary. Hitherto Indians have not much interested themselves in international problems. While such interest and interference may have their own advantages, let them take care that by plunging into the muddy waters of internationalism, their sturdy nationalism does not suffer from eclipse. They are nationalists first and internationalists afterwards. They are citizens of India before they are citizens of the world.

* * *

The growing popular assumption that the quality of moderation exists pre-eminently among the members of the Moderate party calls for a little examination. Moderation is, indeed, a virtue. Beyond a certain stage, we all feel repulsed at the display of excesses be it in politics, in social reform, or in any matter. But moderation can co-exist with the greatest love of country and an infinite desire to advance her progress. It is not inconsistent with a boundless faith in the capacity of Indians or with the demand for immediate Self-Government. The greatest example of a man in whom intense patriotism co-exists with moderation is Mr. Gandhi. But the peculiarity of the Moderate party is its variation in the display of this quality. Moderation there is in abundance in its dealings with the Government but towards its own countrymen it is immoderate.

* * *

A kind friend implores us to dismiss politics entirely from our Review. He says that platform bravadoes have sickened him and have lessened his regard for many leaders and have made him very pessimistic about his country's future. While we can sympathise with the feelings of our friend, we regret we are not able to act up to his suggestion or endorse his gospel of despair. A journalist, in these days, has not merely to reckon with his own conscience but also with his constituents. When that happy day comes when crowds will be sane and crowns will be just, there would be no necessity for writing on politics at all. But until then, we must get on.

MR. S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR,

AN INTERVIEW ON NON-CO-OPERATION.

Mr. S. Srinivasa ngar, was good enough to grant the following special erview for *The Madras Review.* In the years 1914-'15, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar worked as hard as any one else to brin out an United Congress but his reputation as an acute yer and as a social reformer of settled principles son hat overshadowed his work as a politician. A man of ering intellect and unsullied character, he has not allo his keen democratic instincts to be dulled under the suff ion of wealth. His utter sincerity of purpose gives his per ality a distinct colour. The interesting interview reporte elow shows that his robust patriotism is leavened with p tical idealism and a keen sense of humour.—(EDITOR, Madras Review).

INTERVIEW.

Q.—I suppose ou are against the Non-Co-operation movement?

A.—Yes.

Q.—What do u think will be the effect of the decision of the Special gress on the future of the Nationalist party?

A.—For the ment the party is completely paralysed. It is difficult to s what will happen to it. Mr. Gandhi and his followers un ubtedly know their minds. In all probability the others l divide themselves into those that get absorbed into h party and those who oppose Non-Co-operation.

Q.—Is th any likelihood of any party being formed that can succ fully put forward a programme of Non-Co-operation diffe nt from that of Mr. Gandhi?

A.—Mos ertainly not. There cannot be any varieties of Non-Co-op ation under the present conditions of public feeling. Mr. ndhi alone can and will lead the Non-Co-operation moven t, and he will not allow any substantial modification his programme. His great personality will prevent any ther party upholding Non-Co-operation from succeeding a against him.

Q.—W t is your opinion as to our future political activities?

A.—T only party that has a chance of permanence and of us ull service on the widest scale will be a party which is n ther moderate nor very extreme like the Non-Co-operati n party but a radical party holding the views which wer common to all the Nationalists before the principle and pro ramme of Non-co-operation were accepted by the Congress. The Nationalist party will take some time to recover itself but I think it will be the only sound party built upon a basis of practical idealism. The Non-Co-operation party is for pure or absolute idealism; the Moderate party though some members of it have latterly become more progressive has not as a whole yet becme radical enough to hold the feeling and imagination of the people. The Nationalist party with its radical ideals combined with a practical programme was carrying everything before it. The Non-Co-operation movement made in an undue [illegible] its compelling appeal to the spirituality and mysticism inherent in every Indian, and has, as I said, paralysed all Nationalist activity in the country.

Q.—Will the programme adopted by the Special Congress, if followed, paralyse the Government?

A.—The programme which is placed before the country for its immediate adoption will certainly not paralyse the Government to any extent. It is impossible to see how the withdrawal of children from schools or the giving up of titles will have that effect. The former is utterly impracticable and it is neither ethically nor from a religious point of view right. The latter may be practicable but is futile. Boycott of the Councils cannot paralyse the Government but it may make some impression in other provinces where it can be more successfully carried out; but in the conditions of this Presidency it will not succeed to any great extent and will make little or no impression. The immediate boycott of Courts by litigants and lawyers may have great effect but boycott of Courts by lawyers alone will have little or no effect. For many a Judge and Magistrate will like to dispose of cases without the arguments of pleaders. The boycott of Courts by litigants is altogether impossible in this Presidency. Parties come to Courts in most cases only after all efforts at mediation have failed. The experience of the legal profession is that it is not easy to get people to settle their disputes amicably. The awards of private arbitration boards will be impeached on various grounds and cannot be carried into effect except by Courts. Of course criminal cases will always require Courts and pleaders. The whole of this part of the programme is based upon a very imperfect acquaintance with the actual conditions prevailing in different areas and amongst different communities. What may be possible to an appreciable degree in Gujerat or Sindh will not be possible in Madras.

Q.—Do you think that we can succeed in making the Nagpur Congress alter the decisions of the Special Congress?

A.—I cannot prophesy but I very much doubt it. As I said, Mr. Gandhi knows his mind. The leaders in the various provinces are not all of one mind. They cannot often meet and discuss affairs and generally each appears to take his own line. In ordinary times this does not matter, but on critical occasions, this is fatal. With these difficulties I do not think it is possible for the scattered units of the Nationalist party to form again into a coherent mass within the limited time that there is before the Nagpur Congress. At the same time a good many public men in various provinces are greatly dissatisfied with the verdict of the Special Congress and may make some effort. And I do not think that the majority of my countrymen or of the nationalists are really of opinion that the programme of Non-Co-operation is workable. Mr. Gandhi's organisation, however, is nearly perfect. While others are quiet he is continuously organising and I should not be surprised if the Nagpur Congress was even

more radical than the Special Congress, The Congress will radically alter the Calcutta resolution only if those who have faith in this experiment are allowed to try it and are found to fail and three months are too short for the people to realise that the proposal will be a failure.

Q.—You seem to hold the view that this Non-Co-operation resolution is not binding on every Congressman. Why do you think so?

A.—I have always held the view that every Congressman is not bound by every resolution of the Congress. I stated this fully in my speech at the Gokhale Hall in February last and subsequently repeated it in my speeches at Madura and other places. The minority must have freedom to convert themselves into a majority. They must continue to press their objections as well before as at each session of the Congress and should have full liberty to canvass support in the country for their view. The minority, however, must not set up any rival or independent organisations so as to impair the authority of the Congress. Loyalty to the institution is one thing, acceptance of every resolution as binding is another. Resolutions stating the demand of the Congress upon the Government must be binding but those affecting the lives of the people can be binding only on those who vote for them. The second reason is this resolution in terms prescribes a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice. I have always held the view that the Khilafat movement and the principles of Non-Co-operation based on the law of suffering are religious movements and religious movements have no place in the Congress which must be a purely political organisation. Mr. Gandhi himself stated in his speech in the Subjects Committee that I was right in claiming his movement as a religious movement. Politics is one thing and a matter of conscience is another. Those only who vote for such a special regulation of conscience are bound by it. If the programme is binding, every part of it is equally binding and I cannot see how one can choose that which is least embarrassing to him as binding on him and reject the rest as not binding on him. The third reason is that the creed of the Congress as explained at Amritsar is immediate Self-Government. The minority hold the view that the usual methods of agitation should be allowed to proceed. The majority hold the view that they should be superseded by this new method. A resolution advising a particular method when the goal and the principles are the same cannot and ought not to be regarded as binding on every Congressman to pursue that method to the exclusion of every other method. This fundamental departure from the accepted method of agitation may eventually afford a real basis for differentiation between political parties.

Q. What is your attitude towards Non-Co-operationists?

A.—Those who have burning faith in it may try it but those who have no such faith must keep aloof. I think myself that active political work and constructive work of all descriptions particularly in the field of education must be allowed to proceed in the usual way and the Non-Co-operationists should not offer obstruction to such work. I equally doubt the wisdom of those who do not agree to Non-co-operation asking the Non-Co-operationists to put off the day of experiment for that alo‑an convince the Non-Co-operationist who is moved by a‑ep idealism. When once he comes into contact with co facts, he will realise the difficulties far more clearly th from objections founded upon reasoning, or past experie. This Non-Co-operation movement has now a very wid‑old on the feelings of the people owing to the grave wrongs‑mmitted by the Government, especially the Punjab ‑edy and its sequelæ. The Nation is in a high temper a‑he Congress has adopted the Non-Co-operation resolution an hour of just resentment under the stress of intens‑motion. Eventually it will become a sectarian movement will have little effect upon the nation's activities, provi of course that a full measure of responsible self-gov‑nent is immediately granted.

Q.—What is your advice to vot‑and those who stand for election?

A.—I am a candidate myself bu‑certainly think that candidates ought to stand and voters ‑ht to exercise their franchise. I can understand boycott of Councils only as a purely political weapon not as a measur‑f discipline or self-sacrifice. Its effectiveness will then the only consideration. The withdrawl of one candidate ‑l not deter others from standing. If some wont's vote, ‑ers will. The experience of all countries is roughly speak‑g that only 50 per cent. of the voters record their votes. H‑ can one say that non-recording of votes is due to an energe‑realisation of the virtues of Non-Co-operation? Nor do I thi‑t right to refuse to exercise one's franchise. For over 30 y‑s the Congress has preached increasing political activity. ‑Mr. Gandhi now preaches cessation from all political ‑tivity both for the Congress and the people. Politics‑n the science or art of Government and Non-Co-operati‑ with Government of the type now suggested pe‑ed systematically is the negation of all politics and w‑ only result in paralysis of the community. In this provinc‑boycott of the Councils is neither right nor wise.

Q.—What will be the position of any Co‑gressman who stands as candidate?

A.—He cannot stand as representing the ‑iews of the majority in the Congress. He cannot use ‑he Congress machinery or funds or its authority to advance h‑candidature. He can stand for his own views and those of his ‑onstituency. That is the reason why I withdrew my candidatu‑e which was announced to be the Congress candidature by t‑e Selection Committee appointed by the Tinnevelly Provincial Conference.

Q.—What is your position in the Congress?

A.—I am and shall be a Congressman an‑ nationalist, and my views are exactly the same as those which were held by the majority of the nationalist party before the principle and programme of Non-Co-operation were adopted. The majority for the moment must, I suppose, be taken to be the Non-Co-operation party though I much doubt it. I must, therefore, regard myself as a plain Congressman and nationalist. I believe, however, the majority of Congressman in this province hold views more or less similar to mine.

FACTORY LEGISLATION

BY MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR, B.A., B.L.

An improved Factory Act has to be passed before July next year as a result of the Versailles Treaty. It is the duty of all those interested in the welfare of the working classes to consider what legislation is necessary to improve their conditions of life, and to conserve and increase the efficiency of the life-capital of the Nation. The cry of infant industries which is often the voice of vested interests will be raised. Custom and ignorance will be powerful forces against improvement. The Legislature will be dominated by the influence and the bias of what may be called the non-working classes. A very great deal of work and organised effort have to be put forth even for the smallest progress.

First comes the question of a minimum wage, which should be so fixed that it can be determined in cash with reference to rents and prices by local authorities. The minimum wage should be what is absolutely necessary to enable our working population to be maintained in healthy existence. The absolute minimum which a worker, as a National unit, reqires for physical health and efficiency should not be cut down by what are put forward as considerations of what a particular trade can bear. Such considerations must no doubt govern the regulation of wages above the absolute mnimum, in respect of various trades. "Even if some occupations are unable to bear the cost of a minimum wage, it would obviously be a National benefit for them to disappear rather than to continue by living on the life-capital of the Nation." If indeed such occupations be necessary for the country, they should be maintained by a bounty from the general tax-payer rather than by underfeeding the workers' families. Minimum healthy existence should include the proper bringing up of children and provision against accident, infirmity and old age.

A more proper limitation of hours of work than what now obtains should be laid down. In appreciating periods of time, legislators should remember that the nature of work in factories involves a monotony, a continuous strain, an unrelenting discipline, and an unhealthy confinement which makes it altogether different from the kind of continuous application they themselves are used to in higher walks of life. When the maximum hours are laid down, overtime beyond the limit should be prohibited.

Non-adult labour in factories should be medically examined and certified, not only for age but also for general fitnes to be employed.

Maternity should be protected, by prohibition of employment on wage-earning work for a minimum period before and after confinement. Sick-leave with wages for the period of incapacity payable by employers who had the benefit of previous continuous service from the women, should be enforced. A State Maternity Aid Fund, drawable on certificates from local authorities, should be instituted for maintaining during the period of incapacity such mothers as lived on wages earned by themselves and are not in receipt of employer's allowances.

Fines and deductions from wages are now a source of great oppression. They are arbitrary and absolutely uncontrolled by any outside authority judicial or administrative. They should be brought under control, where not prohibited. A workable system just to both sides can easily be organised for this purpose. At present, inequitable or oppressive deductions can be met only by extreme action on the part of labour.

The tenure of the workman's service should be improved by the insistence of notice of dismissal even where the man is put on a daily wage system. The right to a clean discharge certificate should be protected by Statute.

At present, the weekly rest day and religious holidays are almost in all cases cut out of wages. This should be taken into account in fixing the minimum wage, or payment for such days enforced. For sickness and casualties a limited period, for each year of regular service should be allowed even though the workman is put on the daily wage system. It is inconceivable that the class that lives from hand to mouth and is therefore in greatest need of help during sickness or other casualties, is left to shift for itself, when higher salaries are safeguarded in this respect.

Attention should be paid to the recommendation of the Washington Conference for the establishment of a Government service specially charged with the duty of safeguarding the health of the working classes.

As regards the condition of labour in general, the bigger factories are not so bad as the unregulated small establishments. The workmen in the larger factories have organised themselves to some extent, and in spite of difficulty, the Labour Unions have been able to fight for better conditions. But such strength is not available to the smaller factory hands. It is therefore necessary that the smaller Factories should be brougt under legal regulation. The factory Inspectors' oppression of the proprietors of small businesses is no doubt a matter for consideration, but there is a point at which it may be a preferable risk to the undoubted evils of unregulated labour.

There is always a lost list of excepted trades appended to every Factory Act. A very careful scrutiny of the reasons to take any trade or factory out of the statutory regulations should be ensured. The less of exceptions by executive order the better. Experience in western countries tends to show that the inconvenience of regulations is the mother of many an invention.

Most important of all reforms is a practical system of profit-sharing. For the increasing difficulty of labour problems, it is the only remedy which has in itself an automatic check on rapacity on either side. The State should insist on publication of accounts and minimum ratio between gross profits and the amount actually distributed by way of wages. If the ratio is not reached, a bonus should be declared in favour of all hands that were continuously employed during the year under account, to make up the ratio laid

down. The fact that capital takes risks of loss which in its nature is incapable of being shared with the workmen is no answer to the suggested remedy for labour unrest, but should be taken into account in fixing the minimum ratio.

That in more industrially advanced countries the reforms suggested here have either, not yet been attained or were attained after much longer struggles, is no reason why India should not gain by the experience of other countries and hasten to avoid the evils which only a painful process of suffering could teach in the first instance.

PASTIME PAPERS

BY 'AHASIYA.'

I had finished my business at Tanjore and came to the station to catch the night mail to Madras. These days one has to take two important things—which could be easily proved indispensable—before one undertakes a journey. You have to take a ticket and take the train as well. The booking-office had, of course, intimation that no accommodation would be available in the train and a ticket was refused to me in a language which could, without much effort, be considered none too courteous. (It must be mentioned here that your humble servant is no plebeian and always travels second class; even first class sometimes with second class tickets—God save the mark!—but not without paying, the legitimate 'extra' to the Railway servants, whose righthand knoweth not what their left hand receiveth—still less the Company's exchequer). However a persuasive representation of the importance of the lot of things I had to do and leave undone the next day at Madras, melted the clerk to accept a couple of rupees which I offered to his private self, and issue a ticket, but only on a solemn undertaking on my part that I should not complain to the station-master if accomodation failed in the train. Any conditions I was prepared to agree to provided I see in my hand a rectangular piece of green card board, no matter how small it may be, or how much it may cost. Faust and Antonio of pound of flesh fame, had, before me, subscribed to conditions far more contingent and a good deal more punitive than this. If the booking clerk had been more exacting and proposed that I should eat my own head if accommodation failed I would have cheerfully fallen in with the proposal though I have again to point out, that the said your humble servant would not, under any other circumstance, tempt the auto-cannibalistic instincts in him.

As when an unfortunate candidate who having failed times innumerable in his matriculation examination, stands in the portals of the Senate house, breathless, his heart palpitating with small hopes of passing and large fears of doom irrevocable and stands and awaits the unbridgable time between the appearance of the results-board, and his finding his name in it (alas struck !), so stood I breathless and gaping, shuddering and twisting that eventful night in that eventful station between the sighting of the train and its dashing into the platform. A piece of Homeric Similie. please.) The train, however, careless of mankind, whizzed in, did not drop down, even by mistake, one little morsel of a passenger but had a lot to take in. I scrambled up the train only to see that there was no compartment that had not possessed the regulation number of passengers; to see there was no passenger that did not humiliate me with a look of pity; and to see also that there was no expression of sympathy but sounded a secret from of self-congratulation on the part of the sympathisers—how happy the case was not their own. If there was no room inside the compartments there was some outside them, and I meant to make use of the corridor for the rest of the night.

I was not a student of Logic but that subject had a great deal of facination for me. I argued within me from a cosy corner where I had now found myself deposited, thus ; A railway train has three classes of compartments, and three kinds of vans, not to mention the engine. I am not travelling in any of the vans, nor in any of the classes, for the corridor is neither the first, second, nor the third class ; that is to say I am not travelling in any of the parts of the train, and therefore I could not be travelling in the whole ; Ergo, the conclusion is, I am not travelling in the train at all. This conclusion tickled me a good deal. I made up my mind to put my logic to test by applying, after reaching Madras in the corridor, for the refund of the ticket money on the ground I had not travelled, which if not countenanced by the Company, the same being an interested party, even Courts of Law were not beyond my programme ;—when judicial pronouncement would be in favour of my Logic, the boom it would make in the newspapers, and......thanks for the train which stopping now at the next station stopped also this alnascharing nonsense. I am not so very stupid generally, as on better acquaintance I hope you will see for yourself, but the joy of having got into the train, the envy for those who had not only got into it but were also gathering themselves to sleep, and the monotonous rattling of the wheels directly underneath, made me a trifle delerious, and—hence this "Ceaser stopping the bunghole" sort of logic.

Among those that were expecting the train at this station matriculation-candidate-wise, were two gentlemen, first class ticket-holders both-one an Ex-Judge of the Madras High Court, and the other an Ex-Member of the Madras Legislative Council. They could find no room in the train and were resigning themselves to take their chances the next day but when I proposed to them the felicities of corridor journey they readily joined me. We were settling down to our lowly berths, but the guard came in and strongly objected to our occupying the corridor. Suggestive entreaties were of no avail. He quoted an express rule that people should not be allowed in the corridor, and what was more to the point, the D. T. S. was travelling in the same train. We were ordered out, all of us bag and baggage. My contrition was not small when I saw that I brought this trouble on myself by inter-

fering in other men's affairs, and I could not help casting a longing lingering look on the dear train which I was forced to quit, when my eyes fell on the luggage van which was open and empty. A brilliant idea flashed through your humble servant's brains. I asked my distinguished companions whether they could have stomach to travel in the luggage-van. They observed that I had a genius for anti-climax, applauded my resourcefulness and assented that anything would be welcome—cattle van not excepted—when they considered the nature and urgency of their calls at Madras. I ran to the guard and whispered into his ears our plan and the remuneration he might expect if he allowed us to carry it out "Oh me! if the D. T. S. again should see you in the van" exclaimed the guard putting as much negative as he could manage into this interrogation. However, I easily made him perceive that the D. T. S. could not possibly look into the luggage van while the train was in motion and when it stopped at the stations I undertook to have the doors closed. This solution was agreeable and he winked assent. King Nala had not awaited the return of the messenger swan more eagerly; poor Juliet had not coaxed her "sweet, sweet, sweet nurse"—(though the said nurse looks a trifle dropsied from our point of view) more tenderly, than those two gentlemen awaited my return and put pressing questions when I came. In another minute we found ourselves within the luggage van and true to the compact with the guard we closed its doors.

The Greek Tragedians would not have a murder shown on the stage as too horrible for representation, and I have a memory that one of them (I forget who) has specifically interdicted, for the same reason,—anachronisms apart—the description of a luggage van. Therefore I shall only mention that we left lime—kiln and smelt brimstone inside the closed van; and when the train started it was no small risk to open the massive door, for the velocity of the rushing wind was great and the one who ventured to open might any day be dragged with the door and fall down and die or if the grip was firm, to be left dangling on the outer wall of the carriage something like your wall calendar, for the rest of the journey, I ventured to do it and accomplished it successfully too, not however without having made such and sundry precautionary arrangements as my being held by the waist by the Ex-Judge on one side and by the Ex-Legislator on the other, during the operation. If when the door was closed we felt all the excitements of the submarine without the dangers of the sea, we enjoyed aeronautics, when opened, without the break-neck altitude.

To go to sleep was not to be thought of:—(one would easily prefer Calibans to cock-roaches for one's bedfellows—whatever might be the depth of the misery.) I am an opportunist, as ought to be evident before this. These two gentlemen should be very reliable touchstones for my logic and I hazarded a doubt whether we could be considered to travel in the train by travelling in the luggage van, as the booking for it was by weight and none of us had been weighed—and I hoped we could not be brought under the widest conceivable definition of luggage. To this, the Ex-Judge made a general observation that a member of the Legislative Council should have made himself useful when he had the chance, by enacting that any person who would talk rot inside a luggage van should be thrown out immediately. This elicited an equally general observation from the other gentleman that Judges might have passed authoritative rulings on such matters and made their tenure on the Bench somewhat useful. What was primarily intended as an insult to me had been obviously construed by the Legislator as a sideblow to himself and he paid it back, as vulgar finance would have it, in the same coin. However both the combatants had agreed on my expulsion and I could not help making the insults triangular. I remarked in a general way that if both Judges and Legislators had made a law that respectable men should not be allowed to travel in a luggage van, it would have been very useful for humanity. Perhap I was a little mean in inviting people to a situation and then insulting them on it.

When the train stopped at the next station, a few live-turkeys, a number of baskets of poultry and about a hundred rolls of plantain leaves were put into our van. We resented the introduction of such company, held a hasty protest meeting and resigned our places—the guard voting against, hoping to travel in better company on the next day. My two companions had friends who would lodge them for the night and they went into the town while I entered the waiting room and spread my bed. A few minutes after the departure of the train, a porter came in, said he wanted to lock the room and summarily showed me the way-out. I appealed to the station master, a decent Eurasian, who not only gave me permission to sleep in the waiting room but also gave me his company until late in the night. The next morning I got up rather late, washed myself and settled down to read an old newspaper that was at hand when an hasty entrance of company into the room invited my attention. The company consisted of an elderly lady and two peons who wore office badges on them. It would appear that the lady was an Inspectress of Schools who had come to make a surprise visit to the local Girls' School. One of the peons was hers while the other was the peon of the school in question. The latter had come to meet his Head-Mistress who was expected to arrive in a local train from an adjacent station. The school peon had seen and recognised the inspecting peon and a surprise on the school would be impossible. The resourceful educationalist however decoyed him along with her and utilised the interval in cross-examining the unfortunate peon as to the condition and ways of his school. He stood his ground in all matters pertaining to the teaching or the discipline of the institution but he gave out, not in answer to any particular question, that the staff, in which he evidently included himself, was scandalously underpaid, and he in particular was tremendously overworked. Just then the other peon instructed the lady that the train in which the Head Mistress would be coming was drawing into the platform. She jumped up, thrust the school peon underneath the couch, bade her servant stick with the screen, and she herself ran into the bath-room. Evidently the Inspectress feared that the Head Mistress missing her peon would step into the waiting-room before she would leave the platform, and wanted to avoid being seen by the very person

whom she had come to surprise. Just at this juncture the Station Master came into the room for a chat with me and was not a little puzzled to see this strange tableaux before him. I drew the Station Master to a corner and told him what was afloat. He was a man with lot of imagination and humour in him. He came in and called upon the Inspectress to explain her conduct. She waved some impatient gestures amounting to threaten the Station Master into silence but he accosted a constable who was in the platform and handed over the three persons as found in the station premises under suspicious circumstances. He marched them to the station the officer in charge of which told the lady that she and her party ought to consider themselves to be under arrest, and that they would not be released unless some respectable person would vouch to their identity and their harmlessness. The poor lady disclosed her office, explained the occasion for the hide and seek her party played and said she had none in that place who could identify her. The police was unrelenting and she fell to crying; when the school peon suggested that the Head Mistress could not have gone far from the station and that if she could be fetched she might identify them. A constable was despatched and he brought the Head Mistress to the scene in a couple of minutes. Oh! it was a sight for gods to see the Inspectress swallow several lumps in her throat while telling her intended victim the occasion for the plight she was found in and implore her help. The Head Mistress was too generous to crush a fallen foe and stood surety for the good conduct of the wolf and released her. The sure hand of Nemesis works instantaneous these days.

THE NON-BRAHMINS' CASE.

BY MR. S. M. MICHAEL.

The Non-Brahmin movement is the most misunderstood movement of the day in India. The misunderstanding is due as much to its professed champions as to its avowed opponents. Far too much stress has been hitherto laid on its purely political side to the detriment of its other and more important aspects. It is small wonder, therefore, that the movement is associated in the minds of most people with communal representation for Non-Brahmins in the Councils and the services of the State. But, in my humble opinion, this is by no means its sole or even its chief end.

Not that I do not realise or seek to minimise the importance of communal representation for Non-Brahmins in the Public Services and the Councils. Even a child knows all about the rank nepotism, jobbery and favouritism that are rife in the former. At any rate the distribution of offices among the members of the Non-Brahmin community who constitute the vast bulk of the population will be a far more sensible, equitable and justifiable arrangement than the present practical monopoly of them by a very small minority however clever. (The question of cleverness or "efficiency" is a very old one and I shall come to it by and by).

As for communal representation for Non-Brahmins in the legislatures of the land, it is my deliberate opinion that it has become more necessary than ever. I do not suggest that the hypnotic influence exercised by the priest, teacher, scholar, vakil, judge and other Brahmin officials and non-officials over the mass-mind of India for ages has of late increased so greatly that communal representation for Non-Brahmins has become even more necessary than it used to be. This fact by itself would only prove that it is as necessary as ever. When I say that it has become much more necessary than ever before, I have in mind some thing far different from all this. Rightly or wrongly—rightly as I myself believe—an impression has been created in the Non-Brahmin mind that most of our Brahmin bretheren are, in spite of their English education, their western culture and in spite of their professions of social reform, secret believers in the cult of Varnashrama Dharma wherever and whenever they do not happen to be its avoided followers. And it is a fact as unfortunate as it is well-known that some among them who cherish the most advanced views in matters political at the same time hold the most reactionary opinions in other matters affecting the lives of our people perhaps more nearly, immediately and intimately than mere politics. In fact the extremism of their political tenets is only the measure of the obscurantism of their social concepts. If such men capture the Councils of the country wholesale—or even if they obtain a preponderating majority in them out of all proportion to their numbers, wealth and education—is there any guarantee that they will not try to restore the *regime* of Manu and to substitute his Code for the Indian Penal Code (which is bad enough in all conscience)? What absolute guarantee is there that they will not make an attempt in that direction? Is it not natural for us Non-Brahmins who have known the sweet amenities of Manu Dharma for thousands of years to wish to be saved from such a fate? Of course we realise that it is equally natural for our Brahmin "Varnashrama Dharmic bretheren to long to fly back to the good old days" but we cannot help it. That is why, over and above all other reasons, we want to send up to the Councils as many Non-Brahmins as we possitly can. We only hope that the day will come soon (sooner perhaps than most people imagine) when our Brahmin brothers will recognise the reasonableness of our position and the need for adequate protection for themselves in the Councils and clamour for communal representation as the Non-Brahmins are clamouring for it now with the result that the maximum representation of the Brahmins in the Councils will be fixed upon in proportion to their numerical strength. It seems to me that that alone will be a proper, adequate and final solution of this vexing domestic problem of Brahmin *v.* Non-Brahmin. Let it be remembered here that the broad division into Brahmin and Non-Brahmin was not effected by Non-Brahmins led by the nose by a diabolical Dr. Nair as some ignoramuses suppose. That is why the

solution of which I have spoken strikes me as the natural and the inevitable culmination of that proud exclusiveness practised by our Brahmin brothers for centuries past.

It is idle to say that Non-Brahmins seek to penalise the Brahmins for their birth. We all know who penalised whose birth right throughout Indian History. The controversy has its root deep in the past. It is as old as Manu. The absurdly rigid hereditary caste system—the very same Varnashrama Dharma which someof our politicians secretly hope to see established again in this ancient and unhappy land resulted in the practical monopolisation of all education by one small and numerically insignificant caste and in what may be called the enforced ignorance of the rest of the Hindu community. To this and to this alone should be ascribed the incredible disparity that exists between that higly intellectualised minority and the educationally backward majority at the present day which fills the superficial foreign observer with wonder and not to any inherent inferiority of the latter. The intellectnal past and heredity which count for a very great deal, indeed, in education and which the Brahmin has thus built up for himself and of which to his lasting shame, he cruelly deprived all the other people when he had power, should be taken into due consideration whenever we judge his claims to inborn intellectual pre-eminence and wish to judge justly. As education spreads among the masses of the people, it is becoming more and more clear day by day that the Non-Brahmin communities are the intellectual equals of any communities in the world. The fact that they have already produced men who have held their own with the Brahmins in literature law, art, science, philosophy, mathematics and other branches of learning should prove even to the biassed Brahmin mind that with the further increase of educational opportunities and the progressive accumulation of an educational heredity (of which it is always well to remember that they were deprived in the past) the day will come when the Non-Brahmins will be the *educational* equals of the Brahmins even as they are and have always been their *intellectual* peers.

Nay, more. We hold that even now there are enough men in our ranks who can adorn any office as well as any Brahmin and who can grace any Council chamber with as much dignity and ability as the latter. Indeed, there is an overabundance of such men within our pale to-day, men who are kept under by the pressure of circumstances, kept out of office or the Council hall by the minority in power. It is because the Non-Brahmins know this and know everything about the jobbery and corruption by which most people merely owing to the accident of their birth get into them that they have been forced to raise their united voice in demanding special protection, strange as it might sound coming from a great majority in the ears of superficial foreigners who do not know exactly where the shoe pinches and it is because of this that they have now resolved to help themselves in the elections by sending to the councilas many from their own community as they can. It simply will not do for our Brahmin friends to pretend that "efficiency" will suffer if Non-Brahmins are largely represented in Councils and Offices. That trick has been tried by the British on the Brahmins long enough. May I submit with all humility that the Brahmins need not practise it now on their own bretheren? "Responsibility alone fits to men for responsibility." That splendid old doctrine is true between Barahmin and Non-Brahmin as much as between Brahmin and the Britisher.

But, as I have said at the very outset of this article, the adequate representation of Non-Brahmins in the services and the Councils of the State in proportion to their numbers, taxpaying strength and educational attainments is not an end in itself. It is only an incident in our campaign. It is a means to an end. The great end and aim of the Non-Brahmin movement is the abolition of all hereditary privileges, in short, of the caste system,—the destruction by a gradual fusion of castes of that fourfold, unscientific, uneugenic and absurd Varnashrama Dharma and its elevation to the leval of the class system of the West which alone combines and reconciles the laws of heredity (so far as these are known) with the democratic theory of equal opportunities for all irrespective of their birth as any sensible and equitable social system ought to do. We know that the class system is bad but we also know that our caste system which is simply the class system based on an exclusively hereditary basis, is a thousand times worse, and ought to be destroyed without unnecessary delay. The equalisation of opportunities for all, the thorough nationalisation of Indian Nationalism, the complete democratisation of our politics and public life in which no class or classes however eminent, ought be allowed to continue to enjoy what is undoubtedly an undue predominance-these are the great ideals for which the non-Brahmin movement stands. In other words, it stands for a political Democracy broad-based on a Perfect Social Democracy. In this sense, it is not only not a reactionary movement, but is the most truly progressive and democratic movement in India today.

STUDIES IN TAMIL LITERATURE

BY MR. T. N. SESHACHALAM IYER. B.A., B.L.

KAMBA RAMAYANAM.

CHAPTER. I.

THE RIVER.

Kamban and the Commonplace.

Among Tamil Poets, Kambanattalvar, better known as Kamban, simply occupies, by common consent, the first place and his masterpiece, the "Ramayanam", professedly a translation of Valmiki's great Sanskrit epic, ranks amongst the foremost in the galaxy of the world's magnificient classics. The Muses are scarcely prodigal of their gifts; to one they bestow the magic of the words, to another the music of the verse; one is endowed with richness of imagination and another with loftiness of thought; but a poet, on whom all these graces are together conferred is hard to seek; while the individual

excellencies, that shine in isolated splendour in this immortal poet or that, are in Kamban combined in such high and happy perfection, that what Dryden says of Milton, may, with a much wider significance be applied to him, viz.,

> Three poets in three distant ages born
> Greece, Italy, England did adorn
> The first in loftiness of thought surpassed
> The next in majesty, in both the last :
> The force of nature could no further go
> To make a third she joined the other two.

After the necessary prefatory matters, as his apology for the undertaking, the invocation to God, and the dedication to his patron, Kamban, in accordance with the well established canons of Tamil poetry, begins his great epic the Ramayanam, with a description of the river Sarayu, which flows through the Kingdom of Kosala, and on whose bank stands Ayodhia, the seat and citadel of the solar race of far-famed Kings. In an age and country in which agriculture was the main occupation of the nation, it is but natural that rivers great and small, contributing as they do in no little measure to the wealth and welfare of the people should, in all its literature, be accorded this premier place of honour. Several poets have handled this theme both before and after Kamban, with greater or less dexterity ; but, we miss in them all the systematic treatment, the artistic selection and the picturesque delienation that characterise Kamban's version of the subject. The formation of the winter clouds—the clouds gathering on the mountain tops—the mountain tops receiving the monsoon showers—the showers mingling into vast floods—the flood rushing adown the mountain slopes in rapid torrents—the majestic march along the level tracts, through forest, field and farm—the ramifications, permeating the land, as it were, with a veritable network of arteries—the sluggish course in slender streams on the sandy sea-shore—the final fall and the disappearance into the mighty main, these are the several and successive stages of a river and Kamban had not omitted the description of any of them : but, what more, over these common, almost commonplace, phenomena, the poet has managed to throw the magic mantle of his imagination, and illuminating every step with splendid imagery, illustrating every occurence with striking similies, inculcating sublime truths every where Kamban holds his audience spell-bound over the fortunes of a familiar river.

> "Let us commemorate the glories of the river (Sarayu) which adorns the kingdom of Kosala, a land where neither the mischief-provoking arrows of the five senses (of men), nor the tumultuous darts of jewel breasted maidens' eyes, deviate from the proper path."

So opens the padalam. The errors of the five senses are the root of all sins in this world and in Kosala, Kamban tells us at the very outset, the people had their senses straight under their control. The immaculate morality of the people is thereby brought out, and in particular, Kamban contemplates the absolute purity of the sexes. The men are all chaste and so are the women, declares Kamban, but this declaration may not, at first sight, appear to have any ostensible connection with the scheme on hand. A little examination is all that is needed to clear this. The ultimate origin of the river is apparently in the clouds and that is where most poets begin, but Kamban is thorough and begins at the very beginning of things. He tells us that the condition indispensible for the formation of the clouds existed in the land. That, is the chastity of the women whose one of the very potent virtues, is conceived to be the influence they possess over the seasonal rains. Sage **Thiruvalluvar** only voices this grand faith when he laid down in his incomparable couplets that "*the rain* **would pour at the bidding of her who worships even no God but her husband**." *Silappathikaram*, a Tamil classic of a very great antiquity, also proclaims that "*in that happy clime where chaste women dwell, the rains nor the crops would ever fail: the king's victorious arms never know defeat.*" This prominent mention of the spotless chastity of women is a necessary basis for the rains and therefore forms a very natural introduction to the inception of the river. A question may yet arise why after stating that the five senses of the people of Kosala do not deviate from their proper path, the eyes alone of women should be made a special mention of, as not deviating also. It cannot certainly be taken to indicate that the errors of the other senses in them stand condoned. However when we know that ogling eyes are the greatest dangers to the stoutest hearts, and remember also that sages like **Viswamithra**, a perfect master of himself, had found it too hard to resist the onslaught of **Menaka**, the question is answered. Kamban takes all possible precautions and makes it known once for all that in Kosala men were in themselves virtuous and the irresistable source of temptation was also essentially innocent,—the effect being the appearance of the winter clouds at the appointed seasons ;—which is described in the next stanza.

> " The ash—besmeared—Siva—coloured clouds went adorning the way, grazed the ocean, and returned of the colour of Him (Vishnu) whose form is radiant with the splendour of Lakshmi of sandal-pasted breast.' '

The white summer clouds are said to go like god Siva and return like God Vishnu. God Siva, though his colour is that of a live charcoal, has his body always coated with ashes and underneath the ashywhiteness a tinge of red would always be visible. So are the summer clouds ashy, not absolute white, with a tinge of red when looked up in the day, due perhaps to the light that pierces through. Vishnu's colour is deep dark, but Vishnu is described as bearing Lakshmi on his chest and Lakshmi again has her breast coated with sandal paste. Kamban's use of epithets is a study in itself. They come in to amplify the comparison and not merely to satisfy the exigencies of the metre. The appropriateness of describing Siva as ash-besmeared, has been pointed out. Vishnu's Lakshmi is intended to stand for the lightning that would appear in the water-laden clouds ; for women for their slender build and brilliant appearance are usually spoken of as lightning-streaks in Tamil literature ; and Tamil literature again has a favourite conceit. A delightful fragrance would often be reported to pervade the atmosphere after a shower, which the poets trace to the scented fumes the high class ladies use in drying their hair, which ascending to the skies get deposited in the clouds and are expected to descend with the rains. The sandal paste on Lakhmi's breast is intended probably to supply this perfume. Kamban's similies would admit of a good deal of drawing out and expanding, not only in scrutinising the details as has just been shown but in the

very idea itself. The alchemy of such a versatile genius could give us scarcely anything but what is ductile and malleable. This could not be better illustrated than by pointing out where Kamban's imitators fail. Now, as we had said before Kamban was the only poet who set out the basis or the occasion for the formation, so is he the first to describe the tranformation, of the white summer clouds into the heavy dark winter clouds. There is not a Tamil poet or poetaster, since Kamban who has not canvassed this idea. **Kachiappasivachariar** in his *Skanda Puranam* compares the white clouds to the sea of milk, and the dark ones to the salt blue sea. **Veerakaviraya r,** the author of *Harichandrapuranam,* would have the white clouds resemble the divine Nector and the dark clouds the destructive venom that came from the sea. **Athiveerama Padian** makes the white clouds go like Saraswathi and return dark like Parvathi. Indra's elephant Iravadam before and after Durvasa's curse is made to stand by **Kachiappa Munivar** for the white and dark clouds respectively. The snowclad Himalayas and the dark blue Nilgiris have been pressed into service by **Meenakshisundaram Pillai**, a very recent poet, to represent his white and dark clouds. According to **Paranjothi Munivar** the white clouds go like the ash-besmeared god (a direct borrowing from Kamban) and come back water-laden like His Consort Parvati. Many more instances can be quoted, but all these poets, except perhaps the last mentioned, have altogether missed the essence of Kamban's comparison. The change in colour is only a superficial incident. Kamban's similies have a sequel, and when drawn out would not land in the quagmire of absurdities. Siva is the God of destruction and Vishnu the Protector feeds life and fosters it. Summer clouds parch up life, and it is the winter clouds that shower blessings on humanity. Kamban's comparison is appropriate then, not only from the point of view of form but also from the point of view of function. There is yet a deeper significance in it. Clouds white or dark, differ though they may in form or function are essentially one and the same; what is Siva and Vishnu, with all their differences of form and function but the dual manifestations of the one Deity! An application of this test of logical sequel to the comparisons used by the other poets mentioned above, would give us strange and even ludicrous results sometimes. The comparison of the two mountains of **Meenakshisundaram Pillai** or of the two seas in *Skanda puranam* or of Saraswathi and Parvathi in **Athiveerarama Pandyan's** *Nidatham* denotes merely a change in colour but is otherwise painfully colourless, absolutely innocent of a sequel besides indentifying the rain bearing clouds with Indra's elephant returning with a curse is inauspicious in its conception, while comparing the summer clouds to life giving nectar and the life fostering winter clouds to the all destroying venom is not only inauspicious but also obviously a functional confusion. **Paranjothi Munivar** alone approaches Kamban in this anywhere near but that is, if we may say so, a '*half sale*' plagiarism. He too uses "ash-besmeared Siva" for his white clouds while Parvathi, the embodiment of Energy and the benevolent Mother of the universe fits in very well with the winter clouds. There is functional appropriateness in this comparison, no doubt, but the idea of Kamban's unity is altogether lost sight of.

The clouds having formed they gather on the mountain tops.

> "The clouds spreading to gather on the mountain tops, looked, as though the ocean feeling that his adorable father-in-law, would be warm, rose to bathe him.

The clouds rising in the horizon in a mass contiguous with the sea would very natrrally suggest the sea itself rising, and since the clouds waft towards the inland mountain the sea may be easily said to come to bathe it. As the rivers born of the mountain wed with the ocean, the former stands in the relationship of a father-in-law to the latter, who like a very dutiful son-in-law is figured to hasten to give a cool bath to his mountain of a father-in-law, and abate the summer heat he might have suffered. Genius is bold; we have known pathetic fallacies where inanimate nature is represented as feeling for the animate; but here Kamban makes one form of inanimate nature feel for another—a sort of pathetic fallacy, as it were, *twice removed*.

The same stanza may be made to give another * and a slightly differeet meaning.

> " The clouds spreading to gather on the mountain tops, looked as though the ocean feeling that Siva's father-in-law would be warm, rose to bathe him.'.

Siva had married the daughter of the Mountain King, **Malayathwaja,** it is true, but why should the ocean hasten to oblige some body else's father-in-law? As this question does not appear to give an adequate answer we have preferred the former meaning though there are commentators who give this meaning to the stanza.

Then the clouds rain on the mountain tops.

> "The clouds yielded showers—which presented the appearance of the Celestials letting down strings of silver to lift the golden mountain up—as profusely as those men of unlimited liberality who recollect and gladly give all what they have away."

Genius is bold not only in conception, as we took occasion to show before but also in innovation. In the use of similies, the obvious is quoted to illustrate what is less familiar. Kamban very often inverses the process and with very effective results. The cloud is the emblem of unlimited liberality, liberality to the extent of selfanihilation, expectant of no recompense. It would be the usual order therefore to call in the cloud to illustrate the generosity of a given person, and not a generous person to illustrate the cloud's pouring down the rain. The peculiarity of the Indian conception of charity lies in its unlimitedness. A calculation as to how much or how little one could afford to give has no place in it; one has got only to recollect the total extent of one's belongings so that all may be given away and nothing left. **King Chibi**, of yore, cut and gave a portion of his own flesh as compensation to a hunter, for a pigeon which he chased and which took refuge in the King. **Raku**, the ancestor of Rama, resigned all his wives in favour of a Brahmin who

Skandapuranam mentions the change in colour, but that it was written before Ramayanam is not beyond doubt so we make bold to give the first idea to Kamban. Even if otherwise it would illustrate how Kamban's genius works upon the material it borrows.

* the word மடன் used in the orginal would mean my adorable, as well as " siva ".

evinced a desire for one of them; conferred his Kingdom on him for their support and with all exchanged his chances of Heaven for that man's sins, to save the fond fellow from the beggar's hell. **Harischandra** lost his Kingdom and sold as slaves his wife and son, all to please the whimsical Viswamithra. **Mahabali** granted the mortal boon of deceptive Vamana, when he knew that his destruction was inevitable thereupon, and gloried over the gift. **Karna**, promised away the fruits of all his meritorious deeds, and with that his life, to Krishna and pledged the gift with his own blood. These and such are the ideal of Indian liberality who anihilate themselves if necessary in the giving, and it is no less then such as these that Kamban would invoke to illustrate the raining of a cloud.

We endeavoured to show how Kamban's imitators flounder when they borrow from him, and just a passing note may be made here of how Kamban improves what he borrows. The showers in themselves are spoken of as strings of silver which the celestials are supposed to let down for the purpose of lifting up the mountain, because they think it was made of gold. This idea is taken from *'Jeevaka Chinthamani,'* where **Thiruthaka Devar** in describing the rainfall, conpares it to silver poles sticking up skywards from the mountain. The rain has nearer resemblance to silver strings than to silver poles, and falling showers would sooner suggest the letting down of strings rather than the sticking up of poles.

The rainwater would next multiply into vast floods.

"Like the fame of the cool canopied king (Dasaratha) who in the path of honour and righteousness walks in the ways of Manu; and like the alms bestowed on the hands of the sages, learned in the four Vedas, the waters multiplied and spread in abundant floods."

Here again is an instance of Kamban's trick of inverse comparisons. The waters after a rain, gathering and spreading is obvious and there would be no point in mentioning it, if it were not for inculcating something which might not be quite so obvious. That Dasaratha's fame spread far and wide is a fact that Kamban may like to tell us, and that the alms given to the deserving multiply in usefulness in the hands of the receiver is not a truth which all could have realised without being told. Kamban utilises the natural flow of water as an occasion for doing both.

The waters that so gather and multiply rush down in torrents carrying all the products of the mountain with it in a great haste—the haste of a harlot who having abstracted all she could lay her hands upon depart from her paramour.

The river is now formed at the foot of the hill. Classic Tamil classifies a country into four kinds of lands, *viz* Kurinji (the hilly region); Mullai (the pasture-land); Marutham (the agricultural area) and Naithal, (the sea-coast). The course of the river through all these lands is described by Kamaban and the description consists mainly in ascribing different attributes to it at its different stages. In its hasty descent down the mountain with all its products, the river, we saw, behaved like a harlot. The products referred to are, we are told in the next stanza, precious stones and gold peacock feather and ornaments, sandal wood and ivory and since these are articles of merchandise and the river carries them about, it is said to resemble a caravan of traders. Then again, the flowers and pollen, gold dust and honey that float on the surface give it the variegated appearance of the rainbow. The advance of the stream plucking at the leaves and branches on its either side imitates not a little the mischief of a pack of monkeys in progress. Kamban draws points of similarity between the river and a drunkard—both have broken their bounds, an unnatural buoyance characterises both, and the interior of either is in a state of muddle.

From Kurinji the river goes to Mullai, the land of the shepherds. There the river marches sporting like Sri Krishna rolling down the dairy products and running away with shepherdesses' clothes. Mullai to Marutham the entry is boisterous like the strides of a wild elephant pulling down all that lie in its way. Here it divides into smaller and smaller streams like the branching of a geneological tree, ending at last severally in the sea.

So much for the river at its different stages; while taken as a whole it stands for the Law of Karma, whose attribute is the constant conversion of one form of life to another. The counterpart of this office in the river is seen when it washes down the special produce of Kurinji and deposits it in Mullai, that of Mullai in Marutham and Marutham's products in Naithal, and so keeps changing one kind of land another.

If the quantity and the conduct of the river had received so much of the poet's attention, its quality has not been left, unmentioned either. The Sarayu's water, says Kamban, unintermittent like the virtuous practice of the solar race of Kings, nourished like the mother's milk every form of life. There is not a place, be it the grove or the jungle, the tank or the desert, the forest or the field which has not been traversed by its waters, which omnipresence is quite concrete and needs mere telling to be understood; but Kamban, as usual has made it stand sponsor for the enunciation of a grand truth. The water pervaded every place just as life pervades every form of body known to science. The greatness of this comparison again is imbedded in its sequel. The water wherever found is only the water of the Sarayu and a particle of it. Similarly Kamban wants us to realise that the lives that are manifest in different forms of existence are not independant identities but only the separated particles of the one Life principle. Transcendental genius levels distinctions and digests the unity that underlies the apparent diversities. It is the one life that is seen in man, animal or plant, irrespective of the body which it is made to inhabit by force of Karma, Kamban wishes us to remember, and sing to the strain of Robert Burns for ever that.

'For a' that, an 'a' that."
Life is a life for a "that."

And lastly, Kamban ends the river as he began it—with the reiteration of a profound truth. The idea of the unity of the Deity that lay latent in the comparison of the clouds at the very origin of the river is fully developed in the stanza that describes its amalgamation with the sea. If Kamban looked askance at sectarian disputes before, he discountenances here the bigotry of the religions. If it was only the water of the river Sarayu that pervades all the tanks, pools and ponds in the country, it is again only the water of the same ocean that prevades all the rivers of the world. The waters of the ocean taking its birth from different mountains,

traverse different parts with diverse names and incidents as rivers, and come back to the same ocean ; this, points out the seer, is exactly the nature of the Supreme Unknown and Unknowable that is claimed by all the great religions as their exclusive Deity. There is no ambiguity about 'the comparison. The inference is patent. The great different religions of the world, though they take their source from different individuals, by whatever name their course is called, however different in their cult, still they all all tend towards the realisation of one and the same Fountain Head of Salvation. Religious preachers, set at rest your differences therefore, exhorts Kamban, and preach the universal religion.

The River Sarayu stands for this marvellous catholicity to Kamban. Adversity may, but genius always does read sermons in the running brooks.

SELECTIONS

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN DONE.

(1) Preparations for the establishment of the Court of International justice have been imtiated.

(2) An international Health Bureau is tobe established, its constitution was drawn up by a conference in April last.

(3) An internatinal financial conference was to have met on September 24th.

(4) The Aland islands dispute has been submitted to the league.

(5) The Assembly has been summoned for Novmber 15th 1920.

WHAT HAS STILL TO BE DONE.

(1) Applications of prospective members should be considered and subject to the condition of Article I, granted.

(2) Machinery for International Disarmament in accordance with articles VIII and IX should be set in motion at once.

(3) The Mandatory system should be started and the conditions of the various mandates fixed.

(4) The recent treaties should be revised.

(5) The Government of Constantinople and the Straits should be under the control of the League.

(6) Racial and Religious Minorities in Turkey should be placed under the protection of the League.

THE FUTURE OF JAPAN.

Professor Joseph. H. Longford in the course of an informing article in the *Nineteenth Century* for September writes :—

Japan is now everywhere recognised as a great military Power, and when her present extensive schemes of military and Naval expansion are carried out she may possibly be the greatest in the world. She is absolutely impregnable in her own lovely and loved islands. No allied force that can ever be brought against her can vitally harm her. She is the acknowledged owner of a great continental colony, and she has her grasp firmly fixed on Munchuria, Mongolia, Shantung, perhaps even on Western Siberia and her grasp once fixed is never let go. In the first three she will have at her disposal a large population that, under good Gvernment and leadership will be capable of anything, and she will provide both. In her own islands she may well, within another fifty years, have a population of 120 millions to provide for. She cannot feed them and she has therefore every encouragement-national needs and popular necessities to continue earnestly and vigorously in her present industrial career. May she not Judging by her success in the past become in generations of the near feture, the great industrial as well as the great military Power of the world dominating the markets of Asia, with a sure footing in those of Europe?

A PICTURE OF AMERICA.

In the *Contemporary Review* for September 1920. Mr. Henry W. Nevinson gives a brilliant pen picture of the New world, We take the following extracts :—

I recall the great universiities with their wide stretches of green "Campus" their large buildings, occasionally beautiful, their exquisitely fitted lecture rooms and laboratories, their splendid libraries (with steel-clad "treasure houses" attached, containing editions beyond estimate of the greatest writers and the rarest printers); the houses of secret societies, "fraternities" or clubs, to which students owe stricter allegiance than to the university herself ; the barns and cattle-sheds for great bulls and model cows ; the elaborate chicken runs ; the patches of ploughed field and pasture ; every provision made for students to acquire knowledge of breeding and growth utterly neglected in the Oxford schools when I was there. They have observatories too and vast fields for baseball and tennis, vast lakes and rivers for boating, and gently sloping hills' for ski. And down the grassy plots, the fields and woods and hills move fine young men and beautiful maidens, together or alone untended, unconcerned as in the age of innocence and gold-as in the Abbey of the Thelemites, of which it was written :—

Grace, honour, praise, delight,
Here sojourn day and night :
Sound bodies lined with a good minde
Do here pursue with might
Groe, honour, praise, delight."

Lastly I recall the cities—Washington in her trees Philadelphia with the Quakers, Boston in her widowed pride, Chicago in her noisy youth, and New York rapidly being transfigured into the most beautiful city the world has known.

DEMOCRACY.

MR. Charles. A. Ellwood in the course of a thoughtful contribution on Education for citizenship in a Democracy in *The American Journal of Sociology* for July observes :—

How are we to secure the intelligence and good-will needed in the mass of our citizens to meet the increasingly complex problems of an ever-increasingly complex civilization? Quite evidently both the advocates of democracy and the leaders of education have been guilty of serious overlooking as to the exact relations which must obtain between education and democray in complex societies, if democracy is to

be successful. Let us face facts as they are. In a democracy the people are the masters. This means that they must solve their own problems. The real sovereign in a democracy is public opinion; but public opinion is only the co-ordination ef the individual judgments of the mass of individual citizens. If public opinion is to solve the staggering social and political problems which now confront our nation, it can only be on the condition that a good degree of social and political intelligence has been developed in the mass of citizens. To be sure, social and political leaders may play a dominant part in the formation and guidance of public opinion; but it should never be forgotten that in a democracy the people must provide and select their own leaders. They must provide for the training of wise leaders in their system of public education; then they must have enough social intelligence to distinguish the wise leader from the demagogue. This, again, makes the solution of social and political problems through public opinion a matter of education and of the general diffusion of social intelligence.

THE LORD MAYOR OF CORK.

We can recall no parallel in the history of this country to the duel now reaching its climax in Brixton Prison. Men have suffered before for their ideals. Rebellions have been crushed sternly and rebels executed. The law of treason has claimed many victims; and the political innovator has often paid in his body for the daring of his mind. But the struggle against authority, sustained to the point of death by the Lord Mayor of Cork, and thrown into all the fiercer relief by the influences of civilisation on its attendant circumstances, transcends all our previous experience. In an age when almost every citizen is inured to tales of suffering, and the majority of men have themselves confronted violent death or vicariously endured its terrors on behalf of others, human sympathy may perhaps, have become anæsthetized and human imagination satiated to the point of dullness. Yet we are indeed mistaken if the mind of the public is not profoundly stirred in the present instance. The Lord Mayor of Cork has doubtless, defied the law in so far as he has prominently indentified himself with Sinn Fein activities. Yet his offence can be traced to no base motive; and his conduct and utterances in prison have apparently been inspired by an idealism which however foreign to that of the British people, no just man will fail to appreciate. *The Times.*

LENIN.

Mr. Bertrand Russell gives the following description of Lenin in the *Nation.*

Soon after my arrival in Moscow, I had an hour's conversation with Lenin in English, which he speaks fairly well. An interpreter was present, but his services were scarcely required. Lenin's room is very bare; it contains a big desk, some maps on the walls, two book-cases, and one comfortable chair for visitors in addition to two or three hard chairs. It is obvious that he has no love of luxury or even comfort. He is very friendly, and apparently simple, entirely without a trace of *hauteur.* If one met him without knowing who he was, one would not guess that he is possessed of great power or even that he is in any way eminent. I have never met a personage so destitute of self importance. He looks at his visitors very closely, and screws up one eye, which seems to increase alarmingly the penetrating power of the other. He laughs a great dealt; at first his laugh seems merely friendly and jolly, but graduallyI came to feel it rather grim. He is dictatorial, calm, incapable of fear, extraordinarily devoid of self-seeking, an embodied theory. The materialist conception of history, one feels, is his life blood. He resembles a professor in his desire to have the theory understood and in his fury with those who misunderstand or disagree, as also in his love of expounding. I got the impression that he despises a great many people and is an intellectual aristocrat.

IMAGINATION.

I think I am deficient in one form of imagination. I have a great longing to help those I love—this leads me to interpid personal criticism, and I do not always know what hurts my friends' feelings. I do not think I should mind anything that I have said to others being said to me, but one never can tell; I have a good sound digestion and personally prefer knowing the truth; I have taken adverse criticism pretty well all my life and had a lot of it; but by some gap I have not succeeded in making my friends take it well. I am not vain or touchy; it takes a lot to offend me, but when I am hurt the scar remains. I feel differently about people who have hurt me, my confidence has been shaken: but having it out is the only chance any one can ever have of retaining my love, and those who have neither the courage, candour, nor humbleness to say they are wrong are not worth loving. I am not afraid of suffering too much in life, but much more afraid of feeling too little; and quarrels make me profoundly unhappy. One of my complaints against the shortnesss of life is that there is not time enough to feel pity and love for enough people.—Mrs. Asquith's *Memoirs* in the *Times of India.*

HOME AFFAIRS

NON-CO-OPERATION.

We give below the full text of the resolution on Non-Co-operation passed by the Special Congress at Calcutta by a large majority in view of its great and far—reaching significance :—

In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question, both the Indian and Imperial Governments have signally failed in their duty towards the Musalmans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them, and that it is the duty of every non-Muslim Indian, in every legitimate manner to assist his Musalman brother in his attempt to remove the religious calamity that has overtaken him, and in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of April 1919, both the said Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab and punish the officers guilty of unsolderly and

barbarous behaviour towards them, and have exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer who proved himself, directly or indirectly, responsible for most of the official crimes, and callous to the suffering of the people placed under his administration, and that the debate in the House of Commons, and specially in the House of Lords, betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with people of India and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Panjab, and that the latest Viceregal pronouncement is proof of the entire absence of repentence in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab, this Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without the redress of the two aforementioned wrongs and that the only effectual means to vindicate National honour and prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swarajya; this Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of, and adopt, the policy of progressive non-violent Non-Co-operation inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi, until the said wrongs are righted and Swarajya is established. And inasmuch as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto moulded and represented public opinion and inasmuch as the Government consolidates its power through titles and honours bestowed on the people, through schools controlled by its Law Courts and its Legislative Councils, and inasmuch as it is desirable, in the prosecution of the movement, to take the minimum risk and to call for the least sacrifice compatible with the attainment of the desired object, this Congress earnestly advises (*a*) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in Local Bodies, (*b*) refusal to attend Government Levees, Durbars, and other official and semi-official functions held by the Government (*c*) and in place of such schools and colleges, establishment of National Schools and Colleges in the various provinces, (*d*) gradual boycott of British Courts by lawyers and litigants and establishment of private arbitration Courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes, (*e*) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia, (*f*) withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils, and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election, (*g*) boycott of foreign goods. And inasmuch as Non-Co-operation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice without which no Nation can make real progress, and inasmuch as an opportunity should be given in the very first stage of Non-Co-operation to every man, woman and child for such discipline and self-sacrifice, this Congress advises the adoption of Swadeshi in piece-goods on a vast scale and inasmuch as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the Nation, and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises the immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement.

POLITICAL AGITATION ABROAD.

Mr. V. J. Patel who has had oppportunities of discussing Indian problems with prominent men of other countries during his recent visit to England makes the following suggestion :—

I strongly feel that in our struggle for freedom full publicity of our activeties from time to time, not only in United Kingdom, but also in America is absolutely essential. This was the opinion of Lokamanya Tilak and it is also the opinion of Lala Lajpat Rai. One noticeable feature of the Egyptian Nationalist Movement was its extensive foreign propaganda. My interviews with the Irish and Egyptian Nationalists during my stay in England this year have convinced me that without simultaneous publicity in foreign countries our work will not yield results they otherwise would. I therefore unhesitatingly recommend that simultaneously with our activities in the field of Non-Co-operarion in this country two strong Publicity Boards should be immediately established one to be located in London and the other in New York. A fund of Rs. 20,00,000, called Tilak Swaraj Publicity Fund, should be collected within 3 months. Attempts should be made to pool together in this fund all amounts hitherto collected or subscribed in different places thoughout the country for the purpose of raising some sort of a memorial to the Lokamanya. The whole amount of Rs. 20 lakhs should be spent in publicity and propaganda work in five years as follows: Rs. 15 lakhs by the London board and its Paris branch in the United Kingdom and France, Rs. 5 lakhs by the New York Board in America.

THE FIRST INDIAN GOVERNOR.

A farewell banquet was given at the Savoy Hotel, London, to Lord Sinha of Raipur, in honour of his appointment as Governor of Bihar and Orissa. In acknowledging the toast which was proposed by Mr. Mont[illegible] Lord Sinha said:—

Although there must be difference of opinion with regard to individual acts of administration and the merits or demerits of administrators no one in England to day doubted that in the India of the future there should be no discrimination on the ground of race, religion, or colour. He hoped he might succeed in enlisting the co-operation of all classes of Indians and Englishmen, official and non-official, in the office to which he had been appointed. He was confident as to the sound common sense of his own people as much as we believed in our own—and he trusted the appeal that had been made to the Indian population for friendly and mutual cooperation would bear good fruit. These who were responsible Governors in India were all imbued with this idea. It would be his great endeavour to eliminate racial animosity and seek to unite all classes to work in harmony for advancing the interest of the country. He was delighted to think that in returning to India he was taking back with him the good wishes not only of his own people in this country, but also of England, which country he had learned to love as his second home.

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